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THE LEGENDS

Adapted from a paper by Anita Goos

An "oral literature" is often a reflection of its contemporary society in that it describes social, psychological, and similar problems of the society. This mode of literature may serve as entertainment or, in contrast, become a weapon in social conflict. In the first instance, oral literature perhaps occupies a place only of minor importance, whereas the second role renders it a central contribution in the survival of the society. But no matter how important is its function in a society, one must always consider oral literature a work of art. Three criteria which enable an oral production to be considered art are traditionality, oral transmissibility and artistic form. These are important characteristics of an oral literature of any era, country or language.

The oral literature of the Chumash Indians was composed of legends. Because of the lack of knowledge about these legends, it is necessary first to discuss legends in general and thereby establish an analytical basis for studying the oral literature of the Chumash.

Two fundamental parts of an oral work are the narrator and the contents of the legends. The significance of the narrator is stressed in Paul Radin's account of American Indian myths. According to Mr. Radin, the Indian legends were generally not written down. The content and the style of each legend were basically fixed by tradition, but were also changed somewhat when passed from one gifted narrator to another in order to express their peculiar genius and temperaments. For this reason, the personality and the literary gifts of the narrator were equally important. Mr. Radin believes that "every narrative was, strictly speaking, a drama where as much depended upon the acting of the raconteur as upon his actual narration." (Radin, 1956, page 123).

One thus realizes that the visual aids provided by the narrator, such as body motions and voice tones, are tremendously significant. This is one reason why an oral composition cannot be disassociated from its narrator and still remain effective. It is possible to assert that the position of the narrator has, in fact, generally been so important in most aboriginal tribes that the right to narrate is "owned" by only a limited number of specifically gifted persons. This right of "ownership" has almost always been based on the skills possessed and demonstrated by the story teller. Because narration is an art, a great measure of talent is needed to tell a story effectively. This talent had to be developed by a Chumash narrator, a fact which is applicable to any story teller. The first step in this development took place when the narrator was a young member of another story teller's audience: he developed an aptitude for listening. At some time, the youth then began creating with words, possible through songs. The Chumash made up songs to fit different situations of daily life; as something occured to an individual, he put it into words and sang about it. This practice was thus an excellent way to develop the art of creating with words.

It must be remembered that the Chumash narrator did not have modern visual aids such as films or tape recorders to help in conveying his meaning. Each legend was probably recounted frequently, but an audience was unable to listen to an instant replay or read the words over a number of times. Thus a narrator's choice of words had to convey most of the legend's ideas, while his acting skills provided the additional effects and emphasis which were

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desired. In this way, facial expressions and voice tones, when combined with the contents of the legends, could transform an interesting story into an unforgettable lesson.

In fact, this development of a lesson was actually a part of the narrator's intention. The Chumash were aware that the stories they told were essential means for communicating information to the children about their environment and lives. The narrator had to be extremely knowledgeable about his subject so that his audience would understand and learn from what he was saying. He was also faced with an additional problem (if this can be considered a problem) of not having definite "school hours" for relating his legends, so he skillfully used the time with which he was provided. His winter legends were much longer than those of the summer because winter was a season of less work. Therefore, a longer period of time could be spent in listening to the legends, especially when the people were gathered around night campfires: an intense setting for story telling as anyone's experience will prove. Everything outside of the light of the campfire was generally invisible and could thus be ignored during the story-telling periods. All concentration could be focused on the narrator and the fascinating legend being told.

Unfortunately, most of this intense concentration, the drama that the narrator included by his expressions and the interaction of the audience in reaction to the stories, is lost when the legends are written down. In addition, translating from one language into another always includes the risk of not being able to translate the fine shades of meaning, as well as the words, from the one language into the other. Melville Jacobs seems to confirm these impressions when he says that "an oral art is not satisfactorially duplicated on the printed page" (Melville Jacobs, 1960, page xi).

The written word, however, is all that remains of the Chumash legends. We may therefore count ourselves fortunate to have access in this medium to a total of fourteen complete or partial legends. Most of these were recorded by John Peabody Harrington, who visited and studied the Chumash in 1917. Two of the legends were recorded by R. G. Heizer and may be found in the Journal of American Folklore, Volume LXVIII, January-March 1955. An additional and contemporary source of Chumash legends is Mr. Russel A. Ruiz, a Santa Barbara citizen and historian.

In order to understand the significance of the contents of legends one must study the myths in relation to "their specific cultural environments and . . . their historical settings." (Radin, 1956, page x). Since we do not know exactly what the Chumash society was like when their oral literature was created, the same legends can be used to help us reconstruct the culture and conditions that produced them.

The conditions which dictated the contents of the Chumash legends can essentially be divided into physical elements and those factors which are intangible. Of the physical components, animals are probably the most significant because they are found most often. The animals included in the legends are those which would necessarily have been most important to the Chumash: fish, deer, birds, bears, dogs, and the coyote. The coyote appears quite frequently and is the only animal which has been developed to any extent. He is usually portrayed as a negative character, except in sections

So the tree and the first fine and A. Rettlatt Wills Year Allen .. sine . . I say tushirting while 1 H-BOE amil:3 The Party and the control of the control of Tours withing I amplement Si nation to be all the control of t force of garding or a state of the control of the c C. Marriage to the contract of anadarul nathor tacining and the control of the control of the control of provide and a villality of the later and the same and the 10000 and duality of the last of the parather if you do not be a few and the second of the seco at and other man of the contract of the contra of the "Mikiw Story" and "Qeleq and Coyote." In these two legends, Coyote is depicted as a father and a friend. The other animals mentioned in the stories are significant for their social actions and for the animal name attached to each of the various actions. (More will be said below about social actions.)

Articles which are produced or used by man constitute some of the other material features of the legends. These objects include a vast array: baskets, sweat houses, clubs, quiver, bows and arrows, fire, fire-making sticks, acorns, herbal medicine, "toloache," spears, flutes, bags or purses, carrying nets, a mat door with leather hinges, cradles, firecrackers, blankets, headdresses, body paint, traps, plank boats, and sandals. All of these articles as well as many more objects appear from time to time in the stories, illustrating the rich background of the former Chumash lifestyle.

Intangible factors often determined the contents of the legends and these can be discussed in historical, cultural and social terms. Historical events, such as the arrival of the Spanish or other foreign persons are significant features of some of the legends which were told to Mr. Harrington in 1917. These particular legends were aboriginally based but also were affected by relationships with the conquering Spaniards, Mexicans and Americans.

Two additional and interesting aspects of historical influence to be considered are those covered by Mr. Radin in the following statement:

. . . most Indian tribes divided their prose narrative into two types: those that dealt with a past irretrievably gone and which belonged to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man or spirits, and that which dealt with the present workaday world (Paul Radin, 1956, page 118).

Chumash myths dealing with the past would include those concerning creation such as "Creation Story" and "Creation of Coyote." But most of the recorded Chumash legends would fall into the latter, workaday, category. In fact, there is a relatively small number of existing mythical (that is, past-oriented) stories as compared to the number of workaday ones. There are no indications that this imbalance was an aboriginal trait. It is more likely that when the missionaries prohibited story telling they would punish more severely the telling of mythical stories with pagan overtones.

As a part of oral art, legends have usually been placed with such cultural activities as a people's songs and dances. Judging from the recorded material, this association would seem inappropriate in the case of the Chumash. But a closer look shows that songs and dances, though now largely forgotten, were once quite important to the Chumash. This idea is verified by the discovery of the flute in numerous places connected with the Chumash. It is also confirmed by the legends themselves because dancing and singing are mentioned frequently and not simply under formal circumstances. In the village of "Coyote and Serenas," it was customary to sing and dance after meals. Singing seems to have been used additionally in hunting and fishing to help bring luck and cause the prey to be more easily caught. According to "The Cave Story," singing and flute music also appear to have been employed in healing stories.

The importance of aboriginal singing and dancing therefore should not be underrated even though little of this has been recorded. The paucity of legends dealing with mythical ideas as well as singing and dancing serves to accentuate the rather small quantity of knowledge existing on the Chumash legends. (The main body of recorded legends, as found in Harrington's Notes, are either partially missing because of lost pages or untranslated sections. In addition, the recorded materials are most probably only a part and perhaps merely a summary of each actual legend. Not even the longest of the recorded myths could be dramatized, as written, to last nearly an hour, which would still be only a short story for winter telling.)

Social determinants are many and vary with each legend. Unfortunately, there are two problems manifest in the discussion of this aspect of the Chumash legends. First, at the moment, the social factors mentioned are merely guesses, with little or no means of checking their validity. Though all such interpretations might be theoretically sound, it must be questioned how a twentieth century non-Indian bias might slant such interpretations. Furthermore, there again is the problem of the small quantity of legends from which to try to draw conclusions, even though every recorded scene might be interpreted. Of course, such scene analyses are extremely important. Although there may be few legends, much can be gathered from them about the Chumash. In fact, the paucity of material makes a detailed analysis even more necessary.

There are a few comments relative to studying the social aspects which are applicable to all of the Chumash stories. In the first place, the animals in the legends are actually humans with animal names. The social relations shown might thereby be two-fold: those of person-to-person and those of person-to-animal. This demonstrates the importance of animals as well as other elements of nature in the Chumash society.

For a specific example of social content in a legend, it is possible to refer to an incident from the "Mikiw Story." In this scene, Coyote makes a number of plank canoes to give away as presents at a gathering of important people which has been organized by Coyote's brothers-in-law. The first two were for his friends, Hew and Mut, and the rest were for the captains and the other important men. The captain Qeleq is disturbed because the best canoes are not going to captains. But Slo'w comments, "they helped him out when we did nothing for him."

Part of the social system of the Chumash may be inferred from this passage. By giving the best gifts to the friends who helped Coyote, it would appear that reciprocity takes precedence, even over tributes to the village leaders. And it is shown in this legend that gifts were expected by the community leaders, indicating that this position was one of prestige, if not of actual power. The belief that moral strength is a characteristic of the ideal captain is demonstrated when Qeleq shows greed, whereas his superior, Slo'w, the supreme captain, admonishes Qeleq to remember Coyote's reciprocal obligation. It is not clear whether the fact that the brothers-in-law called together the important people for Coyote is due to kinship obligation, obligation to the house's new provider (Coyote), an act of courtesy, or some other reason. The function of the group's assemblage is also obscure. The gathering could simply be an easy way to deliver the presents or, instead, socially functional as a means of conspicuous giving, such as the great potlatches of the Northwest Indians.

the contract of the contract o AT A THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY One of the most important social functions of legends is that of education. When there is no way of recording thoughts through some form of writing, the oral literature of a people must take over the literary, historical, religious, and oral artistic aspects of education taught in our schools. Many other things were learned by direct association and a system resembling apprenticeship, but oral literature was very effectively used as a reinforcer.

Primitive education was a community project in which all reputable elders participated at the instigation of individual families. The result was not merely to focus community attention on the child, but also to make the child's education a constant challenge to the elders to review, analyze, dramatize, and defend their cultural heritage. Their own beliefs, understanding, and faith, their personal integration in the culture, and their collective unity, all were promoted by the necessity of assuming the role of educators of their children. Modern teachers are fond of stressing the chasm between the professional and amateur collector of knowledge with the aphorism that no man can really understand or appreciate a subject until he has tried to teach it (George Pettitt, 1946, page 3).

Just as we try to incorporate the best information by the most efficient means into our educational system, the Chumash tried to do the same, but without the aid of books. They, therefore, had to try to develop the memory of their children so that they could remember all of the oral literature. To help with this, the narrator had to be very conscious of making his stories and legends as interesting and memorable as possible. He had to create a literature which, when taught to the children, would be remembered and passed on to their own children, thus preserving the existence of the legends.

The above-mentioned need for intriguing stories is also extremely important because "each myth and each phrase within a myth function in a raconteur-audience-community relationship of shared participation." (Melville Jacobs, 1959, page 5). An active participation by all persons involved is one of the most important aspects concerning oral literature. If such participation does not occur, then the value of the oral literature is greatly decreased. For this reason, the Chumash children were continuously encouraged to participate in story-telling sessions and to learn to use their imaginations.

The problems that must be faced with regard to Chumash legends are the results of historical events. As with all missionaries, the padres of the California Mission system sincerely wanted to save the souls of the local Indians. They regarded the stories and legends of the Chumash as pagan, evil, and a threat to the eternal salvation of the Indians. For this reason, they severely punished anyone who told the stories. Because of these missionary restrictions, the learning of the art of narration, which must be cultivated through listening and practicing, was interrupted for the Chumash. As a result, most of the Chumash oral literature has been forgotten since all three fundamental parts of oral literature (narrator, audience, community) could rarely be brought together again.

In order to realize how serious were the consequences of this circumstance, one must first understand a concept which was previously suggested: The Chumash legends can be used to describe the culture which produced them and, conversely, this same culture accounts for the contents of the legends. It is then possible to recognize a duality in the consequences. The legends helped support and perpetuate their culture, so the acquisition and continuation of this knowledge was denied to the Chumash when they were forbidden to relate their stories. The Chumash were thus tragically deprived of the right to learn about, to practice and to perpetuate this important part of their heritage.

In the same way, present-day man has suffered a great deprivation. Most of the legends have been irretrievably lost, so we are generally unable to use them to learn about the life and thoughts which were recorded in the lost oral material. Conversely, our lack of knowledge about the cultural background of the Chumash prevents us from fully understanding and learning about their stories.

On viewing the present state of the recorded Chumash legends, the reader is generally uncertain about the type of artistry involved in the creation and rendition of such an oral work. When one reads the legends found in Harrington's Notes, it is often hard to tell that any artistry did exist at one time and, in fact, the remnants appear to refute the idea that creativity was actually used in their development. But modern readers should not judge the original Chumash legends according to their extremely rough translations. Some thoughts from N. Scott Momaday might be helpful on this matter:

The white man has his ways. O gracious me, he has his ways. He talks about the Word. He talks through it and around it. He builds upon it with syllables, with prefixes and suffixes and hyphens and accents. He adds and divides and multiplies the Word. And in all of this he subtracts the Truth. . . Now the white man deals in words, and he deals easily, with grace and sleight of hand. And in his presence, here on his own ground, you are as children, mere babes in the woods. You must not mind, for in this you have a certain advantage. A child can listen and learn. The Word is sacred to a child. . .

In the white man's world, language, too--and the way in which the white man thinks of it--has undergone a process of change. The white man takes such things as words and literatures for granted, as indeed he must, for nothing in his world is so commonplace. On every side of him there are words by the millions, an unending succession of pamphlets and papers, letters and books, bills and bulletins, commentaries and conversation. He has diluted and multiplied the Word, and words have begun to close in upon him. He is sated and insensitive; his regard for language--for the Word itself--as an instrument of creation has diminished nearly to the point of no return. It may be that he will perish by the Word.

But it was not always so with him, and it is not so with you. Consider for a moment that old Kiowa woman, my grandmother, whose use of language was confined to speech. And be assured that her

regard for words was always keen in proportion as she depended upon them. You see, for her words were medicine; they were magic and invisible. They came from nothing into sound and meaning. They were beyond price; they could neither be bought nor sold. And she never threw words away (N. Scott Momaday, 1968, page 94-96).

Our English translations can never capture the true beauty and knowledge encompassed in the original Chumash legends. One therefore must not doubt the artistry of these stories, but should instead ask the question: is this art lost? The art of the Chumash oral literature may not be irrevocably lost, but it will take some work to restore to a more artistic form those legends which have been preserved. Perhaps by restoring the legends, some of the values fundamental to the Chumash way of life can also be recovered and become contributions to our modern lives.

The legends on the following pages were collected from a number of unpublished papers by John Peabody Harrington concerning the Chumash. It is anticipated that these legends, as well as the other information gathered by Harrington in 1917, will soon be published.

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A CREATION MYTH OF THE CHUMASH

as told by Mr. Russell A. Ruiz

They believed that their origin was here in the Santa Barbara region. Their sacred place was Santa Cruz Island. That is where they believed the human race was created. The tallest mountain on Santa Cruz Island, known to the Spaniards as "Mount Diablo" (the Spaniards attributed to the devil all the sacred sites of the Chumash people), is where the goddess of the earth, Nushuz lived and it is from this place that the human race was created.

There is a story of the Chumash legend where Nushuz rises from a sacred plant known as achile cote vine. The vine is bright green and has little white flowers and a seed pod that resembles a sticky little porcupine. Inside of it there are seeds and it is supposed to resemble the human placenta. The Chumash believed they originated from this sacred vine which was a creation of Nushuz, the earth goddess. There was a tall and large achile cote vine that grew on Mount Diablo. The population grew from this sacred vine and they spread throughout Santa Cruz Island, which was known within the Chumash as Lemoon or to the Venturan Indians as Machumash. The Venturan word is the origin of the term "Chumash." It only pertained to a certain locale on Santa Cruz Island. This population grew and it became so extensive that they suffered a population explosion.

The Chumash, besides Nushuz, the earth goddess, had their chief divinity, the husband of Nushuz, who was called Sky Snake or Chutu Alapa. (Alapa was the heaven and Sky Snake was the Milky Way.) The father of the Chumash therefore was Sky Snake, the husband of Nushuz, the earth goddess.

From the lightning flash, which was the tongue of Sky Snake, they received the gift of fire. They had an enemy who was the condor. He was a peculiar deity because sometimes he was benevolent and at other times he was evil. He was an enemy of the people because he felt that the gift of fire could be extremely dangerous. He came to investigate but came too close to the fire and was badly burned except for the area under his wings. You notice that the condor has white feathers under his wings; this was part of the explanation for this peculiar phenomenon. The condor was worshipped many times, but as I said before, he was considered a person sometimes good and sometimes bad.

Back to the population explosion. The Chumash on the island became overcrowded and their noise and talking kept the earth goddess awake. So she decided to spread them throughout the world. If you go to the top of San Marcos Pass and look out on a foggy day toward Santa Cruz Island, you'll notice that Mount Diablo sticks above the fog. From this mountain the earth goddess created a rainbow bridge which arched across the fog to Carpinteria. There is a mountain behind Carpinteria called Chismahoo; this particular mountain is called "The Place of Touching." This is where the rainbow touched.

On this bridge the Chumash people crossed over to the mainland. They were warned when they were crossing not to look into the sea because it would

be extremely dangerous and they would fall. So they bravely crossed to the mainland; but some became frightened and looked down and fell through the fog into the ocean. But the earth goddess turned them into the dolphins, who were the sacred totem of the Chumash. They were the brothers of the Chumash people and they appear in paintings and carvings; they were very significant. (We know the dolphin chased the whale into the shore and the Indians would get quite a few items from the whales.) When the people reached the shore they spread through the whole world. They considered this land as the place of origin of the whole human race.

CREATION STORY

Harrington

There were five men and one woman. They were brothers and sister. The woman was going to have a baby. At last they thought they had to say something, so the oldest brother talked to her about it. She finally admitted, since there was nobody else but the brothers, that it was the youngest brother that was responsible.

When the woman gave birth to the young one, it turned out to be a humming-bird. That was the first hummingbird. The hummingbird was so small and fast that the brothers did not like it. The older brothers told the youngest that he must pay for causing this hummingbird to be born. They decided to turn him into a deer. They used his shinbone for a flute. The younger brother felt that there was nothing to do but to be timid and obedient. That is the origin of the deer in the mountains. All the rest of the woman's children, after the hummingbird, were regular men and women.

One night the woman threw away the filth that she got from brushing her hair. The next morning she found a coyote sitting there where she had thrown it away. That was the origin of Coyote.

The five men and the woman sent out a crow (or raven) to see if there was a piece of dry land after the flood. They wanted a piece large enough to hold all the people if they were sent out. The crow acted badly by staying out long and eating some people. The five men and the woman then sent out the wild dove. The dove stayed out a long time because it got its feet stuck in the mud. That is why the marks on its feet are as they are. When the dove finally came back it was so late that it missed the blessing that had been given to all the other animals. That is why the dove now cries, "u, u, u, u," all the time.

The five men and one woman sent out all the animals. They told each animal what he was going to be and sent him away to live. Only the dog did not want to leave, but to stay and be with the new people. That is why he stays around all the time and barks to warn us against other animals. Some say that the bear of the present time was the dog of the five brothers and the sister. They called him "hunakis."

All the animals of today were the people of ancient times.

lBiblical influence might be suspected here.

CREATION OF COYOTE

Momoj is captain of all, but a woman. Coyote was created from the momoj's sweat. Therefore Coyote powerful in magic.

COYOTE & FISHERMEN

Harrington

There were three fishermen at Moore's landing. Coyote was there and was singing that he was cold.

Koqtononi'je (I am cold)

The fishermen heard this song. One of them said: "Well, if you are cold, why do you not take a nutria skin as a tik's (blanket) like the Indians do?" Coyote got mad. A fisherman threw some guts of fish to Coyote and asked him why he did not come over to the fish guts. Coyote was mad and said that he would get the fishermen's guts pretty soon.

S'apili was a large town. It was situated where La Goleta now is.

Kak', Qeleq, and Slo'w were there.

The next day, Coyote was preparing to make war. He was making many arrows. He went away to the Tular country to get carrizo for arrows. And all night, he was making arrows and bows and forming war-companies. Coyote lived at s'apili. The fishermen also lived at s'appli (sic). Coyote was quick tempered. He got mad because they made fun of him.

It dawned the next morning (sic??) and Coyote had many small arms. When they are going to have war they make a big fire--as a signal. The fishermen did not know that there was going to be a war. The captain began to shoot at the rancheria. The captain, qguila, said, "What is the matter with the Coyote is he going crazy?" They kept on shooting. The captain told a few men to tell Coyote to stop, as he might injure some one in the rancheria. These told Coyote, but he paid no attention and kept on shooting. Coyote killed the man sent out by the captain to parley with him. They were all killed. The captain was afraid. So he sent the bravest men he had, who were Kak' and Qeleq--for they were also captains. Coyote paid no attention. At last all the people went out. Coyote created companies of men from Ventura, La Purisima, the Tular--at last all were killed, including Kak' and Qeleq. Slo'w was the only one left.

Slo'w made a motion like shooting and said, I am captain too, and can die as well as any." So he escaped.

Then there were no more people there. Only Slo'w and Coyote were left. Slo'w threatened Coyote, and said, I also am captain.

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COYOTE & SERENAS

Harrington

Coyote was at sjuqtum. Two women (sirena) began to sing and Coyote listened. Coyote felt happy, as when one has drunk toloache. The Coyote began to sing and the women made fun of Coyote for singing. Then Coyote got angry and tried to get into the house, but could not find the door. Coyote wanted to kill the women. But he could not get into the house. The house was inside the sea, a crystal house. At last Coyote reached the house of serena (the two women were not serenas). Coyote found Oriado (k'ini'wi) (a kind of fish was oriado of Sirena. 'elje'wun=Serena). Coyote saluted Oriado and began to look at the things Serena has. Oriado said, "Do not walk in too much for Serenas are fussy." Coyote told Oriado that he was just looking at things that belonged to Coyote's abuelos. He tried to make Oriado believe it was the house of his descendents.

After Coyote had looked around he asked Oriado what had become of the Serenas, and Oriado told Coyote that they had gone to get whales and smatsaw.

Coyote heard the Serenas drop the fish they had caught, when they returned. Coyote heard the noise of the drop, and the Serenas came in and saluted Coyote. They were proud, they did not like Coyote. And they made supper--big slices of whale meat, they threw to Coyote. Coyote turned it by witchcraft into excrement. Coyote said, "What did you eat--excrement?" Coyote wanted to make the serenas angry because they were so proud. Coyote said, "We of sjuqtun do not eat excrement." They had asked Coyote why he did not eat fish.

After that, they finished supper. The Serenas said they would dance, according to their custom. The pi'jata was like iron. The Serena who was strongest lifted it and dropped it to the ground because it was so heavy. She wanted to put it on and so kill Coyote. The Serenas danced first. "And I," said Coyote, "will dance afterwards." The house was large. They jumped in the dance up to the smokehold—that Coyote could not do with the heavy pi'jata on. The Serenas finished dancing and then said to Coyote, "now you dance." Singer asked Coyote what song Coyote wanted him to sing. "Sing like your song, but a little different," Coyote said. Coyote made a song, while the Serenas were dancing. It had the same tune but different words. The words said "Rolling fish on ashes"—Coyote made up this song in order to make them angry. Coyote was saying to himself, "you are so dirty." The Serenas got madder and Coyote began to dance, putting the pi'jata on, and when he jumped in the middle he went out of the house. And then, he made for the shore.

"You have a small house. My father and I had a big house. Your house is too small." (But the house of the Serenas was really big.)

The Serenas went to sleep. Next morning the Serenas went fishing again. Coyote did not want to go with the Serenas, but wanted to stay around the house in order to steal the ts'iwis. They went. Coyote stayed there, and

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Oriado remained. Coyote wanted to steal the prettiest of the three ts'iwis. The Serenas suspected what Coyote had done. Coyote was approaching sjuqtun, but the Serenas overtook him when almost here and took the ts'iwis away from him. Coyote got home. But he had nothing.

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QELEQ & COYOTE

Harrington

him for he was very handsome. They thought it was qeleq. The women entered the house and saw it was richly furnished. "How high-toned the house of qeleq is," they said. It pleased them, the house of qeleq did. They were already seated there inside. After the women had entered, Coyote shut the door well, tied the door well with long strips of leather (correas, called in Indian 'apisas), so that the people would not peep in. For Coyote had quite a number of friends who came to see him.

Qeleq and slo'w said to each other, "Como se tardan las mujeres." They missed them. They began to suspect something. Coyote always went around entering people's houses and talking with the people, and the people missed him. The people came to Coyote's house and said, "Come over and get your tripas." They used to give Coyote deer and fish bowels. Coyote said from inside, "You are fooling me." At last he went out and went over and got the tripas and brought them back and transformed them into fine fish, real fish,—and the whole body of a slain deer, and the girls still thought that Coyote was the right party and said, "How the captain likes qeleq."

The people became very suspicious that Coyote had the women there, for Coyote never went around--just came to the door and went inside and shut the door. At last they sent Gopher to dig inside to see what was in there. The qeleq and slo'w sent Gopher thus to see if Coyote had the girls there. When Gopher entered--you know how gophers do--Coyote saw the earth moving and said, "What is the Gopher doing entering my house here?" Coyote covered the place with nutria skins. Gopher returned and said that he did not think that they were there, but suspected it for he felt many nutria skins.

When Gopher could not see anything, qeleq and slo'w said, "Who shall we send now who will go (or do the work) more slowly so that Coyote will not be aware (so that Coyote will not feel or perceive it?" They sent the Flea (pulga, called step in Indian). He came jumping. The Coyote knew immediately that the Flea was there, and Coyote said, "Surely they sent him." Coyote chased him out. Flea just gave a glance and saw the two girls sitting there, and Coyote ran the Flea out. When the Flea returned he told them that he was two women there, but he could not tell whether they were the ones, but he thought they were the ones. They asked Flea what shape of face the women had. "One has a round face, one has a long face." Then they knew that they were there--were not quite sure. (The gato montes had the round face.)

The qeleq and slo'w then sent the 'ipisti (piojo blanco), and piojo blanco entered and tasted one of the women. Fox had a salty (salado) taste and gato montes had the odor of a bull. In Indian they just say 'upsu, it stinks like wild-cat meat. When the piojo blanco saw them he observed that they were already panzonas (big with child).

Every year Coyote gave all the children of the rancheria a sjuqtun medicine (toloache, la. adds), and the people said that time was not coming

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when the boys and girls (o. k., sic) should be given toloache. They used to gather all the eight year old boys and girls. They brought all the children, and Coyote came there and pounded up toloache to give to the children. He knew the measure. When he left his house he tied the door well. He pounded it up hurriedly, for he knew they might steal the girls. Coyote just made the liquid in the qso'o, big jicara three feet across, and said, "Drink ye." He made no measure. While coyote was giving the medicine, Mountain Lion (leon) was sent to the house of Coyote. He broke the latches from the door and entered the house and asked the girls, "What are ye doing here? This is not qeleq's house. This is Coyote's house." Mountain Lion took each in turn--just took hold of shoulders with his two hands and shook, and each girl had twelve children. Mountain Lion had two companions with him. Inf. forgets their names. Mountain Lion always has a tiqo'o, flint knife, with him. Mountain Lion (they think) went to where Coyote was and told Coyote to come over and tend to his children. Coyote and qeleq and slo'w were neighbors. qeleq and slo'w each had his own house. Took women to geleq and slo'w's houses.

The girls now lived with slo'w and qeleq.

Coyote came to his (Coyote's) house and found the children lying on the floor. Coyote hurried outside and began chopping, making twenty-four ta'oms (cradles). He put all in cradles and tied all.

QELEQ & COYOTE (cont.)

People used to chew wop (mescal) and then spit it out after chewing. Coyote went around gathering this around the houses where people had spit it out and put it in a qso'o with water, to feed the twenty four babies on.

The twenty-four used to be playing about the house. They grew quickly. The two mothers were neighbors. They saw them, and would say, "That one is my son," They referred to the handsomest one, who was pretty, and called wektsum. Another one was named pop'owmeqme'j. Another was named 'itskokinatswit. There is a story about this one. He was a bad boy. No etym. for his name. Wektsum was a good boy, but people did not like him. He was handsome and obedient to his father. Maktsip'ejp'ejnaptelek' was another. His name means "wiggles his tail." Another was named 'uwustoploks, which means "he eats young carrizo shoots" (like asparagus). Another was names 'ese'es. This means "un tejido". Coyote christened all the children himself. All were male.

These sons of Coyote grew up. Coyote made them bows and arrows. The sons went deer hunting. The neighbors were envious, especially of wektsum. They began to plot how to kill wektsum, the handsome boy. There are always people of bad heart, and they wanted to get rid of a boy of good habits. Coyote always had lots of food for the children. People used to be angry because the boys brought home so much deer every night. They plotted as to whether to poison them or how to get rid of them. "Vamos a envenenarlos," they said. They got sjet, who was muy hechicero, to hechizar wektsum. Sjet arrived at the house. But Coyote already knew that the bird was coming and Coyote said to wektsum, "Well, son, they want to kill you, for they are very envious of you." Coyote already knew. Coyote hid wektsum and made an image (sakteshenes) in wektsum's bed, by magic. The sjet entered the house and threw poison ('atiswitsis) in the bed where the image was. But chemical poison. Of the kind of poisoning here mentioned they say sakutpej. And the image complained, and the people were there listening -- the people lived near. They were listening to see if wektsum was dying. The people said, "Listen, wektsum is dying." They were contented. After the wektsum image died, Coyote began to cry to make people believe that the boy had died. After the people thought that he had died, they were very glad, jolly.

The next morning at the time to start out hunting the people noticed that all of the twenty-four were there. "Why, I thought he died last night," they said, qeleq said.

Then they sent the muhu. Coyote told wektsum in the night, "The muhu is coming to kill you." People were envious of wektsum and of Coyote because he had such good food now and before was always so poor. Coyote put image of wektsum, and the image groaned, and people said, "Now truly we have got him. For shrewdest of them is the muhu." When it dawned and the boys all went out wektsum was among them. They were then thinking it over (the people were). "It is better in the open (en el campo), the bear will get him. Lived at sjuqtun, hunted up this way (Arlington Heights or Montecito way.)

So they sent the bear. The people wanted to see when the bear killed

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wektsum. Coyote said, "Now the bear is going to kill you." Coyote said, "Nos I am going with you, so that when the bear comes out from the brush (una rama), you shoot me in my navel. I have the heart of the bear in my navel." Wektsum did this; the Bear fell dead. The people were horrified. It was announced at sjuqtun by criers that the Bear was killed, calling him by many epithets so that the people would be the more angry. He was called qaq'iwas hus'el(iwas), "broad foot", tehe'w, "cracked feet", qaqiwas husnoks. The people got more angry when they heard these epithets.

The people said, "Well, we know, we know he is dead, for we see." The crier was the Coyote (the father of the twenty-four, I am told in answer to my question). At first Coyote did not use any qus, he just used epithets. But the people understood.

The twenty-four went hunting again. "Now we will send rattlesnake," the people said. Coyote knew, and told wektsum that Rattlesnake was coming to kill him. Again en el campo, Coyote told wektsum where Rattlesnake was in a bush (ama) preparing to kill him. Coyote went along this time also. When they came to the place where the bush was, Coyote gave to understand where the Rattlesnake was, and wektsum said to wektsum's little brothers, "This is the way to shoot, I will teach you now how to shoot." And they shot at the rama and killed Rattlesnake before Rattlesnake had any chance to do harm. The Rattlesnake hissed as it died. Coyote ran back to sjuqtun, announcing that Rattlesnake was dead. He called it snoks qe'le'lenwas, "flat head that was." The people understood. Coyote said again, "he who bites in the mountains and brush; "s'uwin(i), "he who bites," (aquel que pica). He gave many epithets. At least Coyote said hulqsapiwas. The people said that they already understood.

Then they again plotted how to kill the boy. They made preparation for a big fiesta. The people said, "We will kill those who are in circumstances to make a fiesta." Coyote told wektsum that they were plotting to kill him and that those not in circumstances were to make fiesta.

Tusin, a rich woman, wanted to get married. This is a species of rata. When they were getting ready to make the fiesta this rich woman, who lived also at sjuqtun, came over and asked some of the younger of the twenty-four to ask their older brother if he wanted to marry her. Coyote overheard when the boy told his older brother. Coyote asked the little boy, "What kind of a looking woman is it?" The boy said that she was tall and had long hair (trenzuda), but not very good looking. "But," Coyote said to wektsum, "she is very rich, and you would perhaps be willing to marry her. You would better marry her, and then we will have money for this fiesta, so that we can even outdo the others in their celebration." Coyote said to the woman, "Do you want to marry my son, el wektsum?" and she said, "Yes". They got married. The Coyote told his daughter-in-law that the other people were preparing to make a fiesta, but that her husband had no means of doing so. She said, "Have no worry. I have means, have enough to outdo the other people." Coyote said, "Well, let us make a fiesta."

Coyote told the people that wektsum was preparing to make a fiesta, and to invite everybody in the rancheria, and in all parts of the world, that the fiesta was to last ten days. And the other people were afraid.

Maqsuse'n, Thunder, went about calling the people of all the world, even the dead, dead and alive, all to come. Qoj was one who came from the world above. Qoj had never been in this world before. He had the habit of spiraling slowly down through the air and spiraling quickly when he goes up.

They held fiesta for ten days. After the ten days Coyote told qoj that he (Coyote) was going with qoj to see the other world, huts'ojoni hulsup, the other world. The Indians believed that there was a world above us here and one below this world.

Coyote held hold of qoj with his (Coyote's) hands, Coyote hanging in the air. Qoj first ascended slowly, then faster, and went shooting up, all in spirals. When nearly up, Coyote said, "Let me off." He came pretty near to letting loose, but he looked back and became horrified, and hung on. Coyote said, "qoj, I want to pearme, I do not want to go." Qoj made no answer. The qoj took Coyote through a hole (slok) (like a door into the other world) and as soon as they got inside the hole, Coyote saw that it was like another world, and he quickly let loose and fell on the ground, and the qoj went on, spiraling away through the air. The Coyote did not know where the qoj went to. Coyote was crying, sad. Coyote was looking towards the world below. At last Coyote said, "I am going to the house there." Coyote marvelled that there were no people there. Coyote said he would arrive at the house at about twelve o'clock. Coyote wanted to get there at twelve o'clock so that he would get invited to dinner. Pure Coyote character. He therefore sat there where he was and went to the house at midday. He arrived there at the house of the Sun, and the Sun had there like we have pets -- his animals, such as chickens, lions, deer, bears, and rattlesnakes -- like we have chuchutos. He had no dogs -- like bears, rattlesnakes only. Sun had no chuchitos. The Sun's bear wanted to bite Coyote. Before Coyote got to the house the Crow ('a'a) began to sing: 'a'a sak'inalku. This is urisimeno language and means, "Crow, there is somebody coming." And one of the daughters told the other, "Do not believe Crow, he is a story teller. There are no human beings here." S'ap hul'alisaw, the house of the Sun. All the animalities of the Sun were wild (bravos). Never saw a human being. Coyote was capiando (dodging) them. The girls never tried to scare the animals away from hurting a human being, for they were rich, wealthy and proud. They were unmarried. The bear could not hurt Coyote. Then the rattlesnake made a dash at him. Coyote was still capiando. Then Coyote reached the door and spoke to them. The girls told Coyote to come in and sit down. Coyote was seated inside. Coyote had always heard that they were rich. Coyote was saying, "What kind of rich people are these?" For he saw no furnishings, not even food. He thought, they had no food. Afterwards they put a little food -- atole de bellota (acorn), a very little, and a very little carne asada. As Coyote saw the food he said, "What kind of rich people are these to give so little to eat?" Coyote was looking. Coyote took both hands full of food and swallowed it quickly -- gulped it down -- and looked down again and saw as great a quantity as before. He took another gulp thus, and saw some more. Coyote realized that this was the way of their eating. So then he began to eat slowly. Coyote kept on eating until full, and there was still food left. "Now you can take your food away," said Coyote.

Coyote talked quite a little with the daughters. Coyote asked for their

father and they told him that he would arrive in the evening. In the evening the Sun arrived. The Sun is very proud and it did not please him when people arrive at his house. The Sun acted as if saluting Coyote, but he was really bewitching him. The Coyote was talking to the Sun, asking him where he came from, etc. The Sun told the Coyote that the Sun was not seeing anything, just going around.

They went to bed and next day they got up. And Coyote said to the sun "I want to go with you when you go today," Sun did not want Coyote to go with him. Coyote was dying to go, and so Sun at last consented, and they went. The Sun has a camino, like mecate. The Sun's trial was like a mecato.

HERE THE STORY ENDS

THE CAVE STORY

Harrington

The cave stays shut for five years and then opens and stays open for five years, and then shuts and stays shut for five years, and so on. Inf. noscit where it is, but knows that it was not a cave in this country here. It was situated at the ends of the world -- inf. imagines it to have been in \(\int \text{imilax} \) a near where the peorones clashed together or some other place by the ends of the world.

People lived in that cave -- it was like a village. The cave was hung with all kinds of regalia -- ts'iwis, tsuq, pijat (or whatever the correct form of the word is) -- every kind of rich regalia, etc. The ts'iwis was hanging very prominent. Coyote entered this cave when the Coyote and the two Thunders reached the place on their journeys around to see the world. Coyote entered the cave and was about to take down the ts'iwis -- it shut on him. The cries of Coyote were heard fainter and fainter (his strength was giving out) -- he was calling qeleq for help. At last the younger Thunder said to his older brother that they wouldn't see Coyote any more and that they would better go along -- when the payaso of the 'ap'ano of that cave threw Coyote out. The payaso making remarks about how Coyote stank. Coyote was swollen and stinking. The older Thunder revived Coyote by playing his flute (stiwalulajit) = s'iwon a stiwalulaj. kaiwon aktiwalulaj, I play my flute).

MIKIW STORY

HARRINGTON

Coyote arrived at a house in Mikiw. They asked him what he wanted and he just said blblblblblbl, and pretended that he didn't know how to talk. They brought out atole de bellota (acorns) and other things, offering him first one thing and then another, and he showed by gestures that he did not want them. Then Coyote pointed to the pupil of his eye and thus made them understand that he wanted qutas (chia). They brought him qutas and he indicated by gestures that that was what he wanted, and pounded it up, nibbling a little as he pounded, so that by the time he had it all pounded he had eaten it all.

Then Coyote went to another house and acted as he had at the first one and finally they brought him qutas and he ate it as before.

Then Coyote arrived at the house of a widow named Kak'. Kak' already knew what he wanted and brought him qutas. She offered to take his quiver (this was a sign of welcome) and he let her. Then Coyote made gesture of spreading hot coals, then pointed to the sea, then made gesture of splitting fish open as they do to roast them on the coals (probable order of gestures-not remembered with certainty). Kak' told him, "No, I am a woman, I am not a fisherman, I can't go and get fish." Then Coyote showed by gestures that she was to have the coals ready and he would get the fish. (All this time Coyote just said: blblblbl, and pretended he couldn't talk, indicating his wishes by gestures.) Coyote went down to the shore, leaving his quiver at Kak's house, and there at the shore his friends, Hew and Mut, whom he already knew from the fiesta, gave him a lot of fish. Coyote took the fish back to Kak' and he and Kak' roasted them and ate them together. Then Kak' and Coyote set about drying all the fish they had not eaten.

Kak' had two brothers -- two hoodlums who never did anything, just bummed around from place to place. Early in the morning after Coyote had spent the night with Kak' the hoodlums arrived. They were astounded to see Coyote there for they had never before found a man there with their sister. Kak' said to them: pik utikapto' ca. She told them: "This is your new Kak' said to them: "Vds. no hacen nada y mira ahora (Imp.)" (You will cunado." She told them: "Vds. no hacen nada y mira ahora (Imp.)" (You will no longer have to look (for food) now.) (Pointing to all the fish that were drying there. She gave them to understand that now she had someone who would look after her well. The two hoodlums addressed her as 'amut'ej, sister. Kak' prepared breakfast and they all ate, the hoodlums leaving immediately after breakfast.

When the hoodlums had left, Coyote told Kak' that he needed some money. Kak' pointed to the Kivis full of abalorio all around the walls inside the

IJus. mentioned husij'ista lwot', reales del capitan. I think je said it was a kind of dinero that Kak' had.

jacal and told him to take what he wanted. (Kak' was very rich.) Coyote measured off what he wanted (gesture of measuring over hand and forearm to elbow) and bit it off and put it in his bag or purse. Coyote told Kak' he was going to Hu tomto 'mo ch., en los pinos. tsupsakuwajapi, vas a volver? Kak' asked him. Coyote said: "Oh segureo." (Oh sure.) She asked, "Cuantos dias te vas stardar?" "Tres dias," Coyote replied. Coyote went to tomto'mo to buy trees of the tomo pine sp. to make cayucos. There was a viejo (or did inf. say viejos?) there who had the trees all cut and ready to sell. Coyote bought a great pile of them, paid for them with the money Kak' had given him, and by his magic power was able to carry them all on his back (with carrying net) at the same time and arrived home with his load late at night, on the night of the same day on which he had set out. When he arrived, he did not knock at the door or call out, but just began fumbling with the door (I think inf. said the door was a strip of tule mat). Kak' was not expecting him back so soon, and she thought it was some intruder trying to get in. She called out: 'a'jip'i, quien es Ud.? But Coyote did not answer. Kak' had a long lance with which she fought. When Coyote kept fumbling at the door she lunged at him with her lance but he dodged so that it only grazed his side -- then he pego un grito and Kak' recognized his voice or else he called out who he was, 1 and she let him in. Kak' asked Coyote why he had said he was going to be gone three days and then had returned the same night, and why he did not advisar who he was when he came back, but Coyote only laughed.

Next morning Coyote started to make all his wood into plank canoes . He worked very fast. Coyote era carpintero [was a carpenter], also a silversmith -- Coyote knew how to do everything. Coyote also made kas for tools. Tiene que amolar. First Coyote made two very fine cayucos ornamented with shells stuck on with brea to give as presents to his friends, Hew and Mut. Shukpej, estaban plateados. Shukpejits, it is ornamented. Slo'w era que mandaba alli and qeleq wassobrino del slow. Qeleq went to slo'w and said: "Mira tata', Coyote is making the finest for Hew and Mut, and those he is making for us capitanes are not ornamented at all." Slo'w said: wakapi, peaqjikus -- slo'w explained that the amigos le hacian favores -- "They helped him out when we did nothing for him." Quleq answered: "Watits o' (imp.), but no me gusta [I do not like] the one that is for me." Coyote made all the madera that he brought into cayucos to give to the gentes grandes. 1 When the cayucos were all finished, Coyote had his cunados (the two hoodlums) go around and tell all the important people of the rancheria that Coyote wanted them to come to his house. When they were all collected there, Coyote presented them with the cayucos--first he gave Hew and Mut their fine ones (their boats had kas y plata inlaid), then he presented Slo'w and Qeleq and after them the other men with their ordinary ones. Qeleq was very envious and commented: "They (Hew and Mut) surely helped him, but it wasn't right not to give the finest to the capitanes." Qeleq said the capitanes should be the first to be presented with presents. Slo'w again advised him: wakapi.

lJus. used the words: wakapi, wakapi, no', no'. I think he said that Coyote called out thus, meaning: Go slow, it is I.

2Coyote said: me'alewi, no es nada. I think Jus. said Coyote said this when he was laughing. after Kak' let him into the house.

kijowop'on--means rich or what? hupi'o wop'on = The Coyote

Next morning Coyote again told Kak' that he wanted some money, and as before she pointed out where the shell-money lay around the inner walls of the jacal and told him to take what he wanted. Coyote measured it off just as before, but (sic) it by biting and put it in his purse. He said he was going to tokto'k to get tok, red milkweed. "Cuantos dias te vas atardar?" asked Kak'. "Tres dias," he replied. Coyote went to tokto'k and bought a great load of tok and by his magic power was able to put it all into his carrying net and bring it all home at once. As before Kak' was not expecting him and after he fumbled with the door she got out her lance and grazed his side with it, then he grito (screamed) and she let him in. As before, Kak' chided him for acting that way, and Kak' also said that he must think she was with another man, because he came back the same night when he had said he was going to be gone three days -- he must be trying to surprise her with someone. Coyote just laughed. "alewil, s'ip, no es nada.

Next morning Coyote began to trabajar [to work] with the tok. He worked very fast. He twisted it on the maguina que tenia -- that was his thigh. Coyote twisted the tok into string and made fishing tackle (fishlines, etc.) for all the gente grande of the rancheria. He did not keep anything for himself. As before, he made the best things for Hew and Mut. When Coyote finished with his work, he sent the hoodlums around to tell all the high-up men to come to Coyote's house, and when they arrived he presented his presents, first giving the fishlines to Hew and Mut, and then to Slo'w and Qeleq, then to all the other important men.

When Coyote distributed the fishlines, he ya tenia coyotito -- Kak' had already had a child by him. The coyotito grew very quickly, and was very maldito. He went around to the houses breaking things, he was very danisto. A person would come to Coyote and say: "Mira, tu hijo me quebro mi metate (or mi mortero, or whatever it was)." And Coyote would ask: "Cuanto vale?" (cost, value, worth). The person would reply ka'nets, tanto, and then Coyote would take out his money and pay whatever the sum was. And the coyotito took after his father in making expensive presents to all his friends -- he wanted to give everything away and coyotito (sic) let him. All this used up Kak's money very fast. When it was almost gone, Kak' said: mok'esma'li hukij'ants um, ya se esta acabando el dinero de nosotors. Coyote and his son kept on using it up. When every piece of money had disappeared, Kak' said: "Que vamos hacer?" "What are we going to do?" "K'ijakapats una, vamos volver animales (hort)," Coyote replied. So Coyote and Kak' and the coyotito turned animals. Coyote went off with his coyotitio detras de el (behind him) and Kak' siguiendolos crying, 'a' 'a'--she flew along and lit in trees and Coyote and Coyotito ran and walked along underneath. Ya no tenian casa. She followed them everywhere, sij'a kapatsun.

After telling the above story, Jus. commented: Quien sabe cuando los animales hablaban.